2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On the latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.
[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.
[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.
[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*.. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept [824] or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. A great banquet is served at noon, 241 574 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

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TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which are made from dough and whole beans; and finally, still more atole. The atole is served not in individual *jicaras* but in two or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women help their husbands in this chore and sometimes do it entirely themselves, since the men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lacking food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger. These jilotes are boiled without salt and are eaten whole, including the husks.

[p. 201-A]

342 [354] lages of the lowlands where the houses have small windows, which improve ventilation and illumination slightly. In places like 342 184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the reception of visitors. In Amatenango del [574] Valle the front of the house is open and [323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work [251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn. [343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 515 Among the auxiliary structures outside is the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath. Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is [184] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure [959] of certain diseases and to strengthen women [846] after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matz-malté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks 415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 207-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
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613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 798 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan
• [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

614 626 887

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

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583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[203] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] [273] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they should have drunk. On the other hand, if 586 the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an

[P. 218-A]

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshe-vuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
836 is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

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584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and 184 much aguardiente are consumed. Among 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P. 219-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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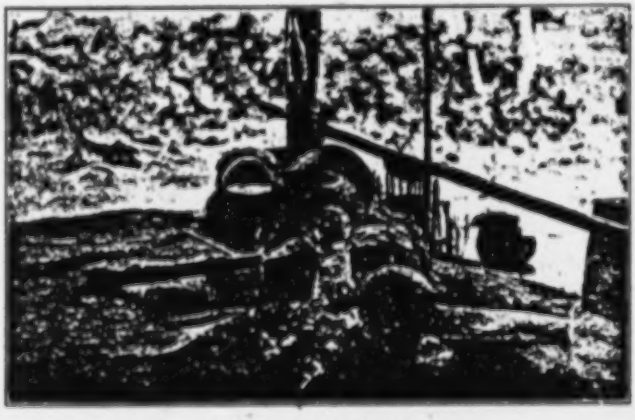
necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water. 415

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, [515] [574] 353 283 286



354

Fig. 191—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hanging in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, *finmutc*, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, beeswax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* ("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail 283 286 411 353 237 [25] 353 [323]

273* Informal drinking

An informal drinking cycle may be initiated on a saint's 273* day or on the day following a ceremonial drinking cycle. An 574 individual may also initiate an informal cycle on the occasion of some personal crisis--e.g., desertion by his wife, illness of some member of the household. The formal speech which begins the ceremonial drinking sequence has as its parallel in the informal sequence the simple invitation to drink, /ME MA*K AWUC TRAWO/, "Would you like a drink?" This statement in general does not permit a refusal on the part of the person being so invited. (Expressions of invitation in English also carry some slight obligatory component.)

Following the probably affirmative response on the part of the invited person, a bottle of aguardiente is proffered from which the receiver takes a drink. While aguardiente in the ceremonial drinking sequence is measured in liter bottles, aguardiente in the informal drinking sequence is measured in bottles of smaller size, regularly a quarter-liter bottle, though occasionally the aguardiente will be offered in a liter bottle. As noted above, informal drinking sequences are more likely to involve drinking directly out of the bottle rather than out of a shot glass filled from the bottle. Thus the precise amount of aguardiente drunk by each participant is likely to be unknown to the others. In the ceremonial drinking sequence,

273* all persons drinking receive the same known amount, as measured
• 594 by the shot glass; since each liter is equally divided, the host may stop serving at any time knowing that all have shared equal amounts. In informal drinking, in contrast, equal distribution of the aguardiente is only approximated by passing the bottle to each in turn. Precision in distribution is perhaps of less concern in informal drinking because there is no single host; each man in turn contributes his own bottle to be shared by the group. Mariano tells how he and his friends shared the expense of a drinking cycle as follows:

[539] M. TAL Z'IN *EHK HOYTIK I, K'EHEL BA YUC'IK *EHUK, TE XBOTIK *A, XU* KU*NTIK *EHUK....

Then some other companions came, we went to drink over there, we went to continue over there also. . . .

TUME HA*T NAX K'AN AWAK'IK XCION, SK'AHK' KO*TANTIK *EHK HC'IN TOHOLTIK I.

"It's not right for you alone to give [aguardiente]," I told them. "Now we will buy some with our money."

TENEX K'OT YAK'IK *OLIL HUHUTUL Z'IN *A PAHAL LA YAK'IK STUBI.

Then and there they began to give a half-liter each, afterward all gave equally.

273* The informal drinking cycle is likely to be initiated by same-sex, same-age peers who consider themselves to be friends. In contrast to the ceremonial drinking sequence, in which persons of various ages and role relations always take part, the informal drinking sequence places little emphasis on the individual's rank

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil
571 of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
621 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
602 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
794 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
608 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970
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[764 43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [293] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol*, a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 crucial ceremony for the following reasons: (1) Most of the officials are changed simultaneously, so that, since there is neither carryover in a civil service nor tenure officials, the act of transferring authority carries a greater burden in preserving continuity; (2) The official is integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations such that he cannot act anonymously in his official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a priority commitment to the obligations of the office (Parsons, 1951:80–84; Gluckman 1962:34; Cancian 1963); (3) The household ceremony preceding the inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume the office learns what is expected of him (Fortes 1959:82).

The inauguration is patterned on a series of acts which symbolically communicate to performers and villagers who participate as observers the desired social goals. The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the house of the incoming official, (2) the town hall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of the new officials is publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers.

The activities of the inauguration observed in 1965 are recorded below:

621 527 574 *On New Year's eve, household celebrations are held in the house of each new official. The houses are decorated with pine needles on the floor and juniper boughs on the porch. The visitors arrive about eight in the evening bearing pitch pine and wood to light the house and provide fuel for cooking. The helpers and guests who attend the evening celebration in the house of the president include relatives, compadres, and neighbors who will support him in his term of office. Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy. His advisors and councilors in the household are the nakawanehetik, or household officials. These are men who have passed through at least four religious offices and who are somehow related to the new official. A second group of supporters in the household setting are the* b'alnialetik, *young men who are either brothers, brothers-n-law, sons, compadres, godchildren, or neighbors of the houseowner, and who serve*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the ikoltawanchetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*]

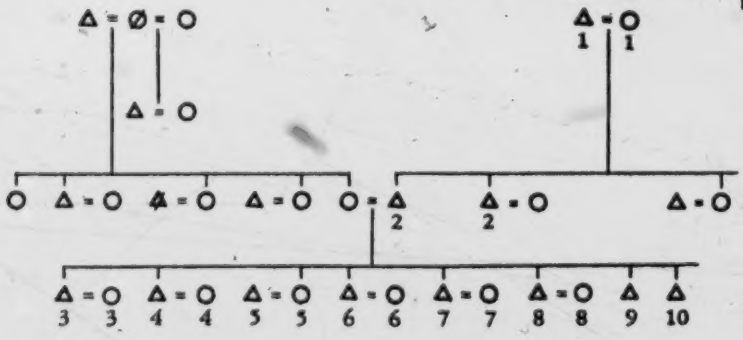
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech:

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621
527 *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our*
[537] *fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621
527
574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ?utzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621
527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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794 796 852 862 *bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.*

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

794 796 574 602 *All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-*

tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereł). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

Conformity and deviance. Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔič' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

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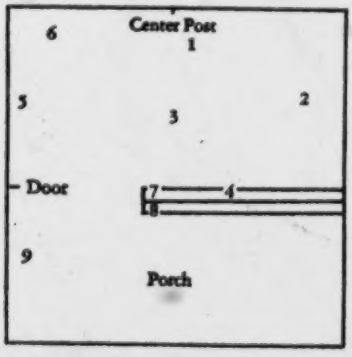
342 [196] [621] [574] women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is referred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertaining guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 [513] Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sitting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden [264] [352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 352 562 574 796 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch.

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench.

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the *Č'om* take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former.

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 [575] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[514] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

593 592 885 621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562 592 885 606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] [313] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

000 462 313 606 592 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound. Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, exchanging news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the [626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 592 885 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only solution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own [574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to [572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a [606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 518 We can see, then, that there are several factors which provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niẽ'anil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamaliĩ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzo'ontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

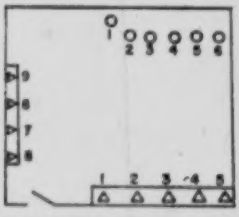

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me'il K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niẽ'anil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alẽ' Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akni'etik)*

Lucia *(Halal Me'tik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piškal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *me'eletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

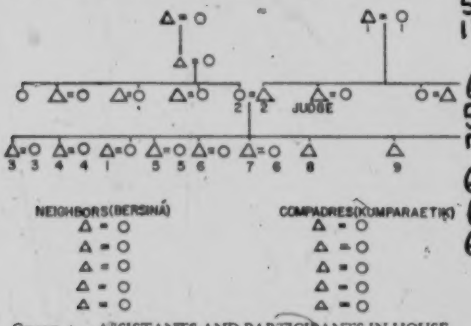

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nič' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayermakers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[P. 215-B]

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in

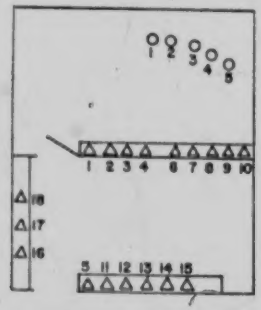

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal sme?)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme?)*
4, 5 Women *(Me?elenik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bočibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bitente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintiku)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Sčunebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Ha?)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity.

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[6] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ʃkoltawanehetik*, the fe-

[6] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.'

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors.

[P. 216-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil kʼop*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nicʼanil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahkʼolnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔotʼan* as the *tik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(kʼa huʼeletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(spʼis snitʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alferecos have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

[R 217-A]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

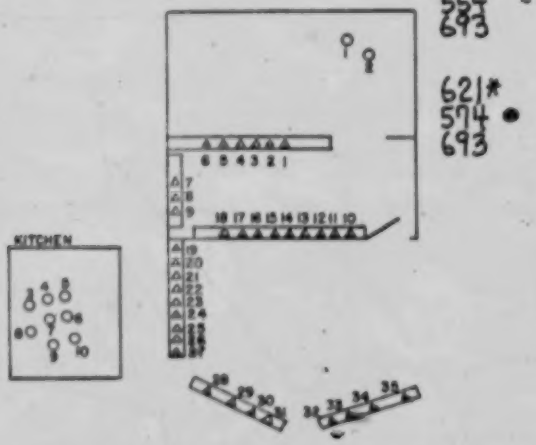

CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker (*Me'il k'op*), outsolve president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanchenk*

MEN (triangles):
1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialenk*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

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these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual.

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aţio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral shards, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem me?tiktatik)*.

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

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Appendix 1 — Change of Officials in the Townhall

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: Entry of First Judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aʔ haʔbil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stotol nakawanc*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantigon. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass grunl, sons of the new officials *?ak ṣi?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
#621 105 192 554 593 [594] House, evening of inauguration	?AČ'A?TEL, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
	NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]	?AK'SIETIK, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
	ME?ELETIK, Me?il K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
#621 105 192 554 [593] [602] [608] [594] House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
	A?TELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
	YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
	ME?ELETIK, women	Mother or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
	Me?il k'op	?	
	Sčebal Sme?	?	
	Yočebal Sme?	?	
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'A?A?TELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[794]	?ALPERESETIK, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

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Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

105
192
554
794

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[594] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos